

WILSON, WOODROW

DRAWER 26

COMPARISON

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Abraham Lincoln Comparisons

Woodrow Wilson

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

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WILSON AND LINCOLN.

Being an able man possessed of exaltation of purpose, he [President Wilson] is doing in certain respects a very good job, but he is doing it at the cost of a complete and dangerous isolation. Except for a few indispensable supernumeraries he is alone in his workshop. He is painting the record of his administration with intrepidity, with intensity of vision and with circumspection, but like a genuine artist he is acutely conscious of his own processes, and he is scrupulously inaccessible. The peculiar eminence of the presidential office is emphasized by the loneliness of the present occupant. He believes so absolutely in himself that the responsibilities inseparable from his work, so far from being mitigated, have been actually increased. The tentativeness of Mr. Taft has been changed into a dangerous finality—dangerous because it incurs the risk, as a consequence of the president's isolation, of overlooking facts or ideas that demand to be recognized.—New Republic.

7.6.1915

Every once in a while someone likens Woodrow Wilson to Abraham Lincoln. Whether or not the New Republic is aware of the fact, in no particular is he more like Lincoln than in his "complete and dangerous isolation"—"dangerous," that is, as the New Republic sees it.

Wilson has a way of thinking out his own problems. If a big job is to be done, he prefers doing it himself to shifting it to someone else. He not only composes important documents of state, but he actually writes them with his own hands on his own typewriter. No man ever sat in the White House that accepted responsibility more cheerfully—who met each duty as it confronted him with less sidestepping—who set forth to intellectual battle with less appeal for assistance from other minds—who undertook the difficult feats of statesmanship which go with the office of president with less thought of the advantage of having someone else's shoulders on which to light to break a possible fall.

In this respect Wilson is Lincoln over again. Throughout four years of civil war, patiently and prayerfully, Lincoln bore upon his own shoulders the burden of a nation. The war policy of the United States was the policy of Lincoln. The proclamation of emancipation was Lincoln's own creation. Not that he did not have for months the benefit, if such it might be called, of the advice and the abuse of innumerable political busybodies, editors, ministers and others as to what he should do and should not do about freeing the slaves—the advice partaking of almost as many varieties as there were advisers—but all the time he was doing his own thinking and keeping his thoughts to himself. He told his cabinet: "I must do the best I can and bear the responsibility of the course which I feel I ought to take." Morse says: "History is crowded with tales of despots, but it tells of no despot who thought and decided with the tranquil, taciturn independence which was now marking the president of the free American public." And again he says: "Every malcontent knew that there was no more use in attempting to resist the American president than in attempting to resist a French emperor

or a Russian czar;"—and here may be noted another parallel with our present day executive—"there was even less use, for while the president managed on one plausible ground or another to have and to exercise all the power that he needed, he was sustained by the good will and the confidence of a majority of the people, which lay as a solid substratum beneath all the disturbance on the surface."

Wilson sometimes is described as a man without intimate friends. It is said he does not fraternize with members of his cabinet or consult with them to the extent that has been the wont of other presidents. Col. House is spoken of as the nearest approach to a confidant. McClure says Lincoln gave his confidence to no one without reservation. Davis never knew a more reticent or secretive man. Herndon declares he never had a confidant. Lincoln nominated Stanton for secretary of war without taking a single member of his cabinet into his confidence, and no man knew of his intention to appoint Chase chief justice of the supreme court. Chase himself, who was Lincoln's secretary of the treasury, complained that under Lincoln there was no administration "in the true sense of the word"—that is, "a president conferring with his cabinet and taking their united judgments."

It is evident, however, that Morse believes that in such a crisis as that which confronted the United States from 1861 to 1865—and presumably in such a crisis as the United States faces in 1915—there may be even greater menaces than isolation on the part of the chief executive; he insists it was well that Lincoln maintained his attitude of near-autocracy, "for a war conducted by a cabinet or a congress would have ended only in disaster."

TIMELY EDITORIAL

LINCOLN AND WILSON.

(From Peoria Sunday Journal-Transcript.)

During this week the people of America and especially those of Illinois will observe Lincoln's birthday. The great emancipator was born Feb. 12, 1809—109 years ago. While Kentucky was his birthplace, it was in Illinois that he spent his young manhood and his older years until he was selected to serve the nation as president.

The great Lincoln was president during the most critical days of our nation—at least the most critical up to that time. His democracy, his judgment, his ability to select executives to carry out his program, his sense of justice, and his indefatigable energy carried him through the trying years of '61-'65.

A study of Lincoln is of special interest and importance at this time because of the fact that our present problems are in many respects like those which confronted Lincoln. President Wilson now finds himself in much the same position as that of the earlier war president.

Lincoln not only carried the military load of the nation but he was forced to carry a great load of dissent, discouragement and antagonism. Particularly in 1864, when the war had devastated large sections of the country when the end of the war was not yet clearly in sight, and when the country needed the utmost co-operation and concentration of effort, there developed a tremendous wave of sentiment against the president. Lincoln was surrounded by unfriendly critics. Eastern newspapers criticised him unmercifully. Perhaps the strongest paper in the country opposed almost all of his actions. Political squabbles developed despite his earnest efforts to keep them down. Criticisms of his generals caused him to put new generals in charge in order to appease the anger of some of his most bitter and powerful foes. Even Secretary Chase for a time was not in sympathy with his course, and was forced to resign later. In May, 1864, a "mass convention" was held in Cleveland, composed of fault-finders who claimed that Lincoln "lacked vigor and administrative power." Fremont, who was nominated for president in this Cleveland meeting, later withdrew but as a parting shot at Lincoln he described the emancipator's administration as "politically, militarily and financially a failure."

Lincoln had the greatest weight to carry in his military program, but his enemies and misinformed critics heaped further weight upon his shoulders by keeping up a storm of criticism which would have forced a less powerful leader down.

Lincoln's greatness is now admitted universally. The people know now, as the great majority of them knew then, that Lincoln was the real savior of the country. They know now that his leadership was as perfect as human leadership could be in war times. That he made mistakes is admitted. But that his general course was right and that he carried out the vast majority of his plans in a satisfactory and efficient manner is admitted freely.

The American people might well consider President Wilson's position in the light of what is known of Lincoln's position during the Civil war. Our president is being criticised severely. One of the greatest papers of the country is hurling vitriol at him regularly. Politicians are attempting to stir up opposition to him. He is being charged with inefficiency, incompetence, lack of executive ability. Senators are criticising his course in open meeting. Of course, he has made mistakes, but his enemies would have the people think that his mistakes are legion while his successes are few.

History will surely credit President Wilson with having conducted this nation successfully through a most critical period. But the American people should not wait for history to make this recognition. The American people, recalling the incidents connected with Lincoln's life, should get behind the president, eradicate all futile criticism, and help him in making the country as efficient and as united as it is possible to make it.

W. S. Rogers 2-12-18

LINCOLN AND WILSON.

One hundred and nine years ago to-day Abraham Lincoln was born. On this anniversary, when the Union he saved is engaged in a war for a wider freedom than that for which he fought and died, it is well to recall his clear vision, his indomitable courage and his uncompromising spirit in the face of his manifold difficulties and perplexities.

In the summer of 1864 men of accurate perception and sound judgment saw that the Secession movement was going down to defeat, but this was not apparent to all, and the opponents of Mr. Lincoln were many, even within his own party. They declared the war to be a failure and their declaration was adopted by the Democratic convention in the platform upon which George B. McClellan was nominated to receive in November no fewer than 1,835,000 votes. On August 22, 1864, when the forces of criticism, discouragement and scuttling were most persistent and annoying Lincoln said, in an address to the 166th Ohio Regiment:

It is not merely for today, but for all time to come, that we should perpetuate for our children's children that great and free Government which we have enjoyed all our lives. I beg you to remember this, not merely for my sake, but for yours. I happen temporarily to occupy this White House. I am a living witness that any one of your children may look to come here as my father's child has. It is in order that each one of you may have, through this free Government which we have enjoyed, an open field and a fair chance for industry, enterprise and intelligence; that you may all have equal privileges in the race of life, with all its desirable human aspirations. It is for this the struggle should be maintained, that we may not lose our birthright—not only for one, but for two or three years. The Nation is worth fighting for, to secure such an inestimable jewel.

In a tone as lofty and as fine as this, and with the larger purpose born of the broader ideals for which we wage this conflict, Woodrow Wilson yesterday announced the determination of the American people to fight on to achieve a just peace:

I would not be a true spokesman of the people of the United States if I did not say once more than we entered this war upon no small occasion, and that we can never turn back from a course chosen upon principle. Our resources are in part mobilized now, and we shall not pause until they are mobilized in their entirety. Our armies are rapidly going to the fighting front and will go more and more rapidly. Our whole strength will be put into

this war of emancipation—emancipation from the threat and attempted mastery of selfish groups of autocratic rulers—whatever the difficulties and present partial delays.

So far as it is directed to the American people Mr. Wilson's latest address is a splendid and inspiring call to sustained effort and heavier sacrifice. It matches the appeals of Lincoln in the darkest hours of the Civil War. It is a noble and heartening declaration of faith in the idealism, the resolution and the staying power of this great Nation.

But the address is not directed altogether to the American people. It is not intended merely to enlighten them as to the terms upon which they should make peace or to stiffen them to endure the suffering which a prolonged war must entail. One of the great objects, perhaps the greatest object, the President had in mind is to accentuate the difference between Germany and Austria-Hungary, to encourage in the latter country the spirit of revolt against Prussianism which is there plainly apparent and thus to deepen the cleavage of opinion between the two senior partners in the Central Alliance. In the pursuit of this object Mr. Wil-

son presents a masterly analysis of the statements recently made in behalf of Austria-Hungary by Count Czernin and in behalf of Germany by Count von Hertling. He shows that Count Czernin approaches the question of peace in a conciliatory spirit and with definite views as to terms, views which approximate those already expressed by Mr. Wilson himself and by Mr. Lloyd-George, speaking for the British Government. Mr. Wilson makes extremely clear the distinction between the frank and conciliatory tone of Count Czernin and the shifty and evasive tone adopted by the German Chancellor. That distinction was obvious to anyone who carefully compared the two statements, and more obvious still was the dispo-

sition of Czernin to meet the United States and its allies upon terms assuring to all concerned an acceptable basis for discussion. The Austrian statesman is willing to talk peace along the lines of justice and liberalism laid down by the American President and the British Premier. His German com-patriot would resort, as Mr. Wilson points out, to the method of the Congress of Vienna when representatives of the old, secret diplomacy assembled about a council table and rearranged the affairs of Europe without regard to the preferences of the people affected. It is not our wish, the President says, to act as an arbiter in the territorial disputes of Europe, but it is our business to see to it that those disputes are not fanned into new virulence by a peace agreement which shall contain the seeds of another war involving ourselves or our posterity.

However great may be the responsibility of Austria-Hungary for providing the pretext for this war it is plain that she is today the reluctant satellite of Germany, eager to escape from an orbit which is leading her straight to destruction. It is a policy of wisdom on Mr. Wilson's part to encourage this spirit of dissatisfaction with a vicious compact under which Austria-Hungary stands to lose much and to gain little or nothing. While the President is following Lincoln's example in speaking words of hope and stimulation to the American people in an hour when such words are greatly needed, he is also showing something of Lincoln's political adroitness in endeavoring to win enemies to his own purposes. It would be worth more than a million men to the Allied cause if the President could convince Count Czernin and his associates, that an early separation from Germany is the first step toward the peace of which Austria-Hungary is desperately in need. *Brooklyn Eagle Feb 12 1918*

WILSON

LINCOLN AND WILSON.

[Sioux City Journal.]

The appeal of President Wilson for the election of a political rather than a patriotic congress, according to his excusers, is in harmony with the positions of other presidents when confronted with bye-elections in times of rational stress. The course of President Lincoln in this connection is interesting. He was not indifferent to the needs of party manipulation, but he kept his political plans outside of the presidency and at no time did he use the great power of his office to accomplish his ends. He did nothing of that kind when the republican convention of 1864 was in session and passing on his renomination. He refrained from doing so when the candidacy of Gen. McClellan made the issue between the indorsement and repudiation of the president clear cut. He was big enough and patriotic enough to rise above partisanship when the nation was concerned.

In one of his letters President Lincoln made the following statement:

I have not been ignorant that the administration was elected thru the activity of the republican party and that it must continue to deserve and retain the confidence of that party. But no patriot and lover of humanity could hesitate to surrender party for the higher interests of humanity.

This lofty statement of the martyred president sounds different from the partisanship appeal of President Wilson, when he said:

I earnestly beg that you will express yourself unmistakably * * * by returning a democratic majority to both the senate and the house of representatives.

The famous sealed letter of President Lincoln is another illustration of his patriotism being above his party. On August 5, 1864, several days before the meeting of the democratic national convention, President Lincoln made a memorandum which he placed in an envelope and sealed, across the seal of which each member of the cabinet, without knowledge of the contents of the memorandum, wrote his name. A few days after the November election Mr. Lincoln caused John Hay, his private secretary, to open the sealed envelope in the presence of the cabinet and to read its contents, afterwards passing the paper to each official for his inspection. The memorandum read as follows:

This morning and for some days past it seems exceedingly probable that this administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my duty so to co-operate with the president-elect as to save the nation.

Again the contrast between the ideals of President Lincoln and those of President Wilson is vividly brought out. Mr. Wilson in his appeal says:

If the control of the house and the senate should be taken from the party in power, an opposing majority could assume control of legislation and oblige all action to be taken amidst contest and obstruction.

Discussing with Gen. Randall the possible nomination of Gen. McClellan, Mr. Lincoln said:

Come what will, I will keep my faith with friend and foe. * * * So long as I am president the war shall be carried on for the sole purpose of restoring the union.

Mr. Wilson's conception of his duty is expressed in these words:

If in these critical days it is your wish to sustain me * * * I beg that you will say so in a way which it will be impossible to misunderstand [the election of his partisan congress].

The letter of President Lincoln to John L. Scripps, written on July 4, 1864, concerning the coercive measures which Scripps was using to prevent a free expression of the will of subordinate officials under him, does not read like the partisan appeal of the present chief executive. Mr. Lincoln in this letter said:

Complaint is made to me that you are using your official power to defeat Mr. Arnold's nomination for congress, * * * My wish is that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case and not constrain any of your subordinates to do other than he thinks fit with his.

If President Lincoln looked with such disfavor upon the use of an official who sought to dictate the party or candidate his subordinate should support, how much greater must be the violation of that conception of a free ballot when such authority, even tho moral, is used by the president of the United States.

IN LINCOLN'S DAY.

Examples of the Kind of Attack a President Had to Endure Then.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

I am sure I voice the sentiments of the great majority of readers of THE TIMES in thanking you for the inspiring editorial article on President Wilson in last Sunday's issue. And especially pleasing was the way in which you douched the spirit of that fiery patriot Mr. James M. Beck. It was peculiarly fitting that Lincoln's Birthday was chosen to empty the vials of partisan wrath on Mr. Wilson's head—by charging, as did Mr. Beck, among other political crimes, that our President's foreign policy has been "a black stain of dishonor upon the American people," and you well said that "such criticism recoils disastrously upon him who utters it."

I have said that it was peculiarly fitting that Lincoln's Birthday was chosen to befoul America's President, for Lincoln himself was even more foully bespattered by the partisan zealots of his day.

Fifty years hence who will care what the disgruntled partisans of today said about Wilson's foreign policy? For the great statesman will stand in the light of history by the side of the world's most exalted benefactors. But it may be well now and then to harken back to contemporary criticism of our nation's idols, and the case of Lincoln is by far the most illuminating.

In 1864, in the midst of the civil war, and at what was probably its darkest period for the cause of the Union, there was held in Chicago a Democratic National Convention, which declared the war a failure and nominated General George B. McClellan as its standard bearer, against Lincoln. Partisanship was at the boiling point, and there were speakers, both in and outside of the convention, full of the spirit that is again manifesting itself against the nation's Chief Magistrate.

In rummaging about the old Astor Library a dozen or more years ago, I came upon a somewhat extraordinary find—a leaflet issued by the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee in 1864, giving extracts from the speeches delivered on the occasion of this Democratic Convention. I copied many of these extraordinary utterances, (some of which I myself heard,) and a few choice specimens will suffice to give your readers the flavor of what partisanship meant in those days, and is now once again only too strongly reflected in the utterances of the cabal that is determined to strip our President of every vestige of credit for well doing.

This from the Hon. S. S. Cox (whose effigy in some base metal disfigures one of the city's squares) makes a fair beginning:

"Abraham Lincoln has deluged the country with blood, created a debt of four thousand million dollars, and sacrificed two million of human lives. At the November election we will damn him with eternal infamy. Even Jefferson Davis is no greater enemy of the Constitution."

The Hon. W. W. O'Brien of Peoria, Ill.: "We want to try Lincoln as Charles I. of England was tried, and, if found guilty, will carry out the law."

The Hon. John Fuller of Michigan: "Are you willing to follow in the footsteps of Abraham Lincoln, the perjured wretch who has violated the oath he took before high heaven to support the Constitution and preserve the liberties of the people?"

Stambaugh of Ohio: "You might search hell over and find none worse than Abraham Lincoln."

C. Chauncey Burr of New York, editor of The Old Guard: "Argument is useless. We have patiently waited for a change, * * * and the wonder is that men carry out the orders of the gorilla tyrant who has usurped the Presidential chair."

The Hon. Henry Clay Dean of Iowa: "The people are ruled by

felons. With all his vast armies Lincoln has failed, failed, failed. And still the monster usurper wants more victims for his slaughter pens. I blush that such a felon should occupy the highest gift of the people. Perjury and larceny are written all over him. Ever since the usurper, traitor, and tyrant has occupied the Presidential chair the Republican Party has shouted war to the knife and the knife to the hilt. Blood has flowed in torrents, and yet the thirst of the old monster is not quenched. His cry is ever for more blood."

How do the present-day detractors of our President like their historic company?

FREDERICK FRANCIS COOK.
New York, Feb. 17, 1919.

Lincoln and Wilson

New York World.

1920

The political situation confronting President Wilson and Gov. Cox when they met at the white house resembled that which Abraham Lincoln faced in 1864. Through popular weariness with war and the persistent attacks of politicians, a cause for which great sacrifices had been made was threatened with abandonment.

If the leading republicans and their newspapers were to be believed in 1864, discontent at the north had reached a point where nothing mattered any more. The country was staggering under the awful losses in the Wilderness and at Atlanta. It was not believed that Lincoln would be re-elected, and party chieftains were recommending desperate expedients of various kinds to meet their defeatist views.

So profound was the depression that Mr. Lincoln himself despaired of success at the polls and drew up a paper indicating his hopelessness, which was to be published after his expected defeat. It was at this time that George W. Julian said that not ten republicans in congress favored Lincoln, and Thaddeus Stevens made the more sweeping statement that except Arnold, of Illinois, the president did not have a political friend in either house.

What these discordant elements pretended to believe and sought to prove was, like the contentions of their successors today, that, in the language of Wendell Phillips, the "civic and military failure of the administration" was self-evident. Greeley was shouting for peace on almost any terms, and Fremont and his followers were so impatient over delay in putting emancipation into the constitution that they regarded the preservation of the union as a secondary matter.

Other factions, then as now, were denouncing the president because of his views on finance and tariff, his conduct of the war, his distribution of offices, especially in the cabinet, his failure to appoint their favorites to high commands in the army, the belief that he was likely to be too lenient with the "rebels," and the charge that he had become wedded to militarism and was exercising despotic powers. All this detraction proceeded from republicans who professed to speak for the loyal north, and of course gave great satisfaction to such demagogues as were not ardently enlisted for the war.

In the face of this tempest of disapproval and despair, Abraham Lincoln in 1864, like Woodrow Wilson in 1919-20, held to his ideal of a reunited country prospering in peace and divested by legal forms of the curse of slavery. He wanted to finish the work that he had begun, whatever the cost. He was pledged to the living and the dead that the union should endure. That was his first object, and it was with hope rather than faith that he awaited the verdict of his countrymen.

Since the armistice in 1918 the present administration has encountered the same slanderous opposition from the same source. Mr. Wilson's aim has been to finish the work undertaken in a war to end war. At every step he has been misrepresented and obstructed for the most unworthy purposes. There have been periods when it seemed that the honor of the republic and its vital material interests also were likely to be sacrificed, as was the prospect in Lincoln's day, to greed, malice and cowardice.

Thanks to the resolute spirit of President Wilson, loyally supported by his successor as democratic leader, official America is to stand fast on a moral issue as it did in Lincoln's day. It is for the people to say whether for the first time in their history an appeal in that behalf is to be rejected because they are tired and timid.

Wilson & Lincoln

Wilson

Wilson, Like Lincoln, Will Be Vindicated in Course Of Time, Says Judge Taylor

A strong parallel between the life of Abraham Lincoln and that of Woodrow Wilson, showing that both men were the victims of the bitterest criticism from an unenlightened public, was drawn last night by Judge Franklin Taylor of the Kings County Court, speaking before the St. Martin of Tours Holy Name Society at the church, Hancock st. and Knickerbocker ave.

"Some day we who have bowed our heads before monuments of Washington and Lincoln," he said, "will bow before another great man who was the victim of the mistakes and bitter invective of his time, Woodrow Wilson. As surely as the United States was built to endure, just as surely will it be called upon to accept the responsibility of a decision, pointed out to us by a man who was ahead of his time."

"Just as bitter denunciation as was directed against Wilson was directed against Lincoln and it looked for a time in 1864 as if Lincoln would not even be renominated by his own party. Horace Greeley and many other prominent men were against him. Party leaders even after his renomination thought of calling another convention and repudiating him."

Judge Taylor enlivened his address with many interesting incidents in the life of Lincoln, relating in particular detail the story of Lincoln calmly running errands at the grocery store for his wife, while the National Convention was yelling its lungs out nominating him for the Presidency.

"There are many people who do not know that Abraham Lincoln was once a bartender," he declared. "As a member of the firm of Berry & Lincoln he sold groceries in the front of the store and liquor in the back. A number of years later Douglas, in the famous debates, twitted him with this fact. Lincoln gravely responded, 'The only difference between us is that I tended the bar and my opponent patronized it.'"

Two thousand dollars, Judge Taylor stated, was the largest law fee that Lincoln ever charged, and he had to sue for that to get it.

T. C. McNulty recited Lincoln's Gettysburg address, and Mrs. H. G. Gehring and J. G. Ayres sang solos. Miss Dorothy Ryan and Miss Rosetta Ryan, dressed in appropriate national costumes, also sang. Harry Gehring, president of the society, presided. Dancing followed the business meeting and program.

NY 9/12/13
The ...

Both Were Disciples of Same Ideals, Leading Preachers Assert.

Memorial services for Woodrow Wilson and Abraham Lincoln were held in many of Brooklyn's churches yesterday. In some instances Mr. Wilson was compared to Abraham Lincoln and George Washington, the names of the three being linked as the outstanding figures in American history.

An address in which Woodrow Wilson and Abraham Lincoln were declared to have been dominated by similar characteristics of high idealism and numerous problems of their careers were cited as analogous was delivered last night at the Flatbush Presbyterian Church, Foster ave. and E. 23d st., by the pastor, H. H. Field.

Mr. Field refrained from naming either greater, but in the calibration of their respective greatnesses presented Lincoln's prosecution of the Civil War as a more complex and difficult task than the direction of our united nation in the World War. As though to balance accounts, he then stated that Lincoln "escaped that most trying ordeal of carrying his idealistic plans for reconstruction into the reconstruction period, an undertaking which battered Wilson to premature death."

Both were slayed as pacifists and weaklings, said Mr. Field—Wilson in 1917 and 1918; Lincoln in 1864. He declared McClellan's attack upon Lincoln in '64 "the part of a traitor which has never received in history the severity of treatment that it merits."

Mr. Field defended the "pacifism" of each as "idealistic convictions that the Union and Federal States on the one hand and the German Entente and French Allies on the other might have settled their differences by amicable means."

The speaker scored the American people, himself included, for their attitude toward Wilson when the League of Nations plan was before Congress. "When this is referred to in future years by the histories of other countries," he said, "the finger of scorn will be pointed to us and it will be stated that one day we would have made him king and the next would have crucified him."

Lincoln Would Pat Backs.

"Lincoln," Mr. Field conjectured, "might have made the irreconcilables vote for the League of Nations by taking them aside and patting them on the back. Lincoln had the ability to descend to the level of the meanest and be sociably homey—could be a mixer with all types. He proved that ability frequently in small matters, but he would not have tried it on such an issue. He wouldn't have stooped to it."

"Wilson was aloof. He was a lonesome individual. Almost every intellectual man is such a lonesome individual; one cannot think in crowds. Therein was Wilson's aloofness, the aloofness of the thinker. Lincoln, too, had his moments of aloofness in high thought, but he also had the ability to come down to the plane of the mass of non-thinkers when he so desired."

Mr. Field expressed profound admiration for the attitude Mr. Wilson took toward the World War in 1917. He declared that the speech which gave birth to the slogan, "Too Proud to Fight," delivered by Mr. Wilson at Philadelphia, was inspired by "the then belief that war could be avoided and that by dignified aloofness we better could act and restore peace in Europe." He said Mr. Wilson's "fourteen points" were born of the

same idealism.

"And when it was no longer possible to keep us out of the conflict and our troops went to the front," he continued, "Woodrow Wilson proceeded with the conductance of the war in the same spirit of idealism as inspired his efforts to keep us out. Therein he was again like Lincoln, who lifted bloody carnage to as high a plane as it is possible to lift bloody carnage."

"In their blood heritage Wilson and Lincoln had much in common, yet to the time of their ascendancy to the Presidency their lives were as different as could be."

"Posterity will know them best for the same reason—that they kept themselves upon the high moral ground and tried to keep the Nation so."

As Seen by Europe.

"Woodrow Wilson, to Europe, will always be the greatest man that America has ever produced," was the opinion expressed by the Rev. E. Leroy Dakin in his Wilson memorial sermon on "Ideals and Idealists" yesterday morning at the Baptist Temple, 3d ave. and Schermerhorn street.

Wilson the man, the statesman, the idealist and the apostle of peace, were discussed by the pastor. He contended that his inspiration came from the Christian faith.

Like Abraham Lincoln, he died a martyr to the Nation's continuity, and he will live in the history of the Nation in a more prominent position, if anything, than that of the great rail splitter, according to the Rev. Mr. Dakin.

"He is the great American who has completed a life heroic," stated the speaker. "His fame is secure. His monument will be the League of Nations."

Characterizing Wilson as the "Schoolmaster of the World" who had made the supreme attempt to end international dueling, the pastor declared that the British look upon him as the outstanding pioneer of the New World.

Compared to Moses.

"He came out of the jungle of the Peace Conference with the League of Nations clasped to his bosom as Moses came with the tablets of God, on which were inscribed the Ten Commandments, to save the world," declared the speaker.

"If America is not ready for his ideals it is so much the worse for America," was the speaker's warning. "The death of Mr. Wilson has not changed the moral law."

In his analysis of the faith of the man he termed the Apostle of Peace, the Rev. Mr. Dakin declared that faith was a fighting force. He claimed it was the motivating force for Wilson as it had been for all great men.

"He had the faith that sees in the dark, that distinguishes things in the gloom of nothingness. His was the faith that gives God a grip on human life," was his explanation.

"Faith such as had this man gives God the opportunity to change common gumption into genius," continued the pastor. "His sort of faith causes an intellectual to become an idealist. Lenin was an example of an intellectual. Wilson was an intellectual with faith," was the tribute of the speaker.

Tells of the Funeral.

At the P. E. Church of the Redeemer the Rev. T. J. Lacey, who was present at the funeral services in Bethlehem Chapel, Washington, gave an intimate review of the occasion. In the church service last night the organist played Handel's

Largo as a prelude and the hymn, "The Strife Is O'er," was sung.

The Episcopal burial service for the dead was read. Dr. Lacey said in part, "The great soul of Woodrow Wilson has passed to its rest. 'I am ready' was his last conscious word. As thousands thronged the churches his soul passed away in sleep."

"Men may differ with him in his ideals and politics, but he stands forth as a great man of peace."

"He was loved passionately and hated bitterly. He rose to a height of power unattained by any other man and then he saw health and popularity slip away."

"On Mr. Wilson's study table there lay a leather-bound book entitled 'Daily Strength for Daily Needs' which he read each day in his devotional hours. This is a wonderful revelation of the spiritual life of this man. At the funeral service, conducted in his home Bishop Freeman used this book to read from and the first passage that he read was 'The Eternal God is thy refuge and underneath are the everlasting arms.'"

"The great service in the cathedral was majestic in its simplicity. As the great throng dispersed no one spoke. Each one went on his way in silence, because each one realized that our world had lost a great soul."

At the close of the service one verse of "The Star-Spangled Banner" was sung in memory of Abraham Lincoln, whose birthday is tomorrow.

At All Souls Church.

At All Souls Universalist Church, Ocean and Ditmas aves., the Rev. Dr. Arthur W. Grose spoke of Wilson, Lincoln and Washington. He pointed out that Washington was the outstanding figure at the beginning of our history; Lincoln preserved the Union and Wilson is the outstanding figure in international affairs. "The United States can never pursue a policy of isolation again," said Dr. Grose. "Wilson during the war was not only the greatest man in the United States but in the world."

"It will be some time before Wilson's work will be appreciated on account of his advocacy of the League of Nations, but he has expressed the idea of international peace not merely as a pious wish but something to work and plan for. He will take his place with Washington and Lincoln. Wilson has seemed to have failed, but his work will be taken up by others and ultimately his ideals will be accomplished."

Praised by Dr. McCaul.

At the Washington Avenue Baptist Church Wilson was eulogized by the pastor, the Rev. Robert McCaul, who said: "The national mood produced by the announcement that Woodrow Wilson was sinking and the universal sorrow that followed upon his death indicated that an extraordinary event had taken place. The expressions of lament already constitute a body of literature rarely called forth by the passing of great men."

"His singular influence accounted for by a number of factors contributing to the brilliant career. He was a notable example of Plato's ideal, that the scholar should occupy the position of chief magistrate. Perhaps no President before him ever brought to the exalted office such a rich store of historical information."

"He brought to the Presidency the bearing and dignity of a refined and sensitive gentleman combined with the vision of a seer which lifted him above the political realm into that of the statesman-prophet. He was governed in his principles and policies by the Prince of Peace. The strange irony which made him a war President also furnished him with a pulpit for the proclaiming of world peace to the

nations of the earth.

Ex-Secretary Redfield Speaks.

William C. Redfield, former Secretary of Commerce under President Wilson, was the speaker at St. Ann's P. E. Church, of which the Rev. Frank W. Creighton is rector. Mr. Redfield spoke of Woodrow Wilson as a friend, a delightful guest, a man of personal charm and fine sense of humor. He refuted the statement that Wilson was domineering and indisposed to regard other men's opinions, saying: "I never knew a man who relied on other men's opinions or gave more weight to other men's ideals than Mr. Wilson."

"He would take months gathering fruit from either side," said the speaker, "and more than once I saw him change his views when another angle was reached which before was unseen." He pointed out that ex-President Wilson took him into his Cabinet in spite of the fact that he knew he differed on the views taken by Wilson in regard to emphasis on Wilson's human sympathy and keen sense of human values. Finally he spoke of Wilson's faith in America. "He had a faith in his country far larger than the confines of the country herself," he said.

Sees Wide Influence.

At Summerfield M. E. Church the Rev. Dr. Frank D. Torrey, conducted an impressive service in memory of the late President, and said in part: "Very few of the world's leaders have been able to see the accomplishment of their dreams and ideals. Moses led the children of Israel in their weary march out of Egypt. He brought them out of their bondage. From the mountain height he looked over the Land of Promise, but was not able to enter. So Woodrow Wilson led our great Nation during the years of anxious warfare, in the effort to forever end war and to 'make the world safe for democracy.' He was not permitted to see the realization of his ideals, but we believe that from his chamber of peace in Washington will flow an influence that will help the nations of the world to find a way to peace."

Voiced World's Plea.

"Rarely is the same recognition accorded the statesman as is granted the man of science or letters or the warrior returned victoriously from the battlefield," said Dr. L. Mason Clarke, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Henry and Clark sts., yesterday, in a sermon eulogizing Woodrow Wilson.

"Lincoln and his great spirit were not recognized by the people of his day, nor are they fully acknowledged by us today. Grant and Lee are almost forgotten, Lincoln lives, enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen." The speaker then drew a parallel of the life of Wilson.

"Wilson voiced the plea of a whole world crying out for peace," he continued. "He had defects, it is true, but the real fundamental thing of life he maintained. He kept his faith. The world has little in store for the idealist. It takes the mellowing of age to bring out his real worth."

Gave More Than Lincoln.

Dr. Charles Roeder, speaking at the Flatlands Dutch Reformed Church, Kowenhoven pl. and E. 40th st., yesterday morning, prophesied that the idealism of Wilson would ultimately triumph and rule the world. He said that 25 years from now the Americans will erect around

the memory of Wilson myths such as "now surround the memory of Lincoln."

Dr. Roeder said that Wilson gave to the world more than Lincoln but that time will be the only gauge of his real benefit to mankind. He particularly addressed himself to the younger members of the congregation, who, he said, would carry on the work of the world, to always hallow his memory and realize the full significance of his noble work.

Men of the Ages.

"Both Woodrow Wilson and Lincoln were men of the ages," said John Howard Melish, rector of Holy Trinity Church, in a sermon on Wilson and Lincoln, delivered last night at his church, at Montague and Clinton sts.

In comparing the two great statesmen Melish pointed out three things they had in common: First, that they were both masters of the English speech; second, that they were both war-time Presidents, and third, that they were both "men of the ages."

Mr. Melish asserted that both Wilson and Lincoln had that magnanimous charity found only in great men. Lincoln had charity for the South and Wilson had charity for the German people. He also praised both men as students of the Bible.

"Both men," said the rector, "were haters of war. But because they saw large things big and little things small, Lincoln sacrificed peace for a great national ideal and Wilson sacrificed peace for a great international ideal."

Dr. Carter's Address.

The Rev. William Carter gave a talk on "Wilson the Idealist" last night at the weekly forum of the Throop Ave. Presbyterian Church, Throop ave. and Macon st. Dr. Carter brought to his congregation many reminiscences of Wilson as the idealist, scholar and politician. "His life was a glorious failure as were all his successive steps up the ladder of power. He left Princeton to take up the reins of government of the State of New Jersey before he was compelled to resign through losing his fight for the chummy life of the quadrangle against the exclusive life of the wealthy clubs at the college. In dwelling on Wilson personally Dr. Carter said: 'He lacked the elasticity of a youthful mind. He was born old and he died old. He was a man who lived alone, rarely did he ever take anyone into his confidence. He did not have the openness of a genial nature to take others to his bosom to share the troubles of the world which hung so heavily on his shoulders. He had none of the sunny geniality of his father but rather the mysticism of his mother's Scottish nature.' The talk was closed by a summary of Wilson's political ideas."

Memorial At School.

Another evidence of the continued mourning for Woodrow Wilson was the memorial service held in the auditorium of the Bay Ridge High School, 4th ave. and 65th st., at 2.30 p.m. yesterday afternoon.

In his eulogy, the Rev. H. H. Leavitt of the Union Church, said, "Wilson dead? No. The body of Woodrow Wilson may be interred, but his spirit will live on just as the spirits of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln are with America today. Woodrow Wilson sacrificed his life to an ideal. Wilson saw and knew the only way, and then because of the jealousies of petty politicians and their ability to side-step, the road was blocked and Woodrow Wilson did not live to see his ideal realized."

The Rev. R. A. Watson delivered the invocation, Rabbi Goodman A. Rose gave a scripture reading. The double quartette of the Police Glee Club then sang, "Still, Still With Thee," after which Miss Miriam Thompson, accompanied on the piano by Sidney Homer rendered a solo. The Rev. W. I. Bowman, pastor of the Grace M. E. Church, said

a prayer, which was followed by taps. The service was concluded with a benediction by the Rev. John Henry Fitzgerald, pastor of Christ P. E. Church.

Believed in Common Man.

"I believe there was a voice saying to him, 'Woodrow Wilson, my faithful witness,' when he passed into that Great Beyond," said the Rev. Dr. A. Avery Shaw, pastor of the Emanuel Baptist Church, Lafayette and St. James pl., last night.

"To that slowly emerging better Americanism, a movement that took on power under Theodore Roosevelt's leadership, Woodrow Wilson was faithful unto death," said the pastor, "he believed in the common man."

"He came not from the soil as did Abraham Lincoln, whose great heart was so evident that all could hear it throb who knew him. Mr. Wilson was by birth and by heritage an autocrat, one who could not easily mingle with the throng. He cared not to be great but as he served and saved the State."

"He might have said, 'I have fought a good fight, I have kept the faith,' said the pastor. "Instead he said, 'I am ready.' And the secret of this indomitable faith, this unquenchable courage that kept him serene and fighting for what he believed to be right was his Bible."

A Great Man in Soul.

"Woodrow Wilson is dead. But the principles for which he stood will never die. He was not only a great man in intellect but in soul. We can all say—no matter what our particular beliefs may be—a great leader and a great American has fallen."

These were the words last night of the Rev. Francis W. O'Brien, pastor of the Greenwood Baptist Church, when the members of the church assembled for a special memorial service.

Dr. O'Brien declared that the patience of Wilson was one of his outstanding characteristics.

"I admit that I was one who

criticized him," the minister stated, "but I came later to see Wilson's reasoning and I believe him to be right. He saw more clearly than a great many people that the American nation included more than 20 million aliens. Had he rushed to declare war, he might have wrecked this great republic. Watchful waiting brought consolidation and effective victory."

Hold Lincoln Service.

Lincoln and his belief in the Bible and prayer were eulogized in Lincoln Birthday services held yesterday afternoon by the Sunday School of St. John's M. E. Church, Bedford ave. and Wilson st.

John M. Evans, a Brooklyn business man, in an address on Lincoln's life told how the great Civil War leader during the darkest hours of his Administration retired to a chamber in the White House and prayed.

Miss Henrietta Weeks gave a reading from Lincoln, quoting from his speech before his first election. Harold Barron quoted from Lincoln's re-

ply notifying him of his second election. Miss Edna Bell gave a reading, "Abe Lincoln," and Florence Raber a recitation, "Lincoln's Last Dream." Miss Martha MacFadyen sang a solo. Flag services were a feature of the program.

Praises Lincoln and Wilson.

"The Living Lincoln" was the sermon which the Rev. Dr. John L. Elliot preached yesterday at the services of the Ethical Culture Society held in the Music Hall of the Academy of Music before one of the largest gatherings of the year. The speaker paralleled the lives of both Lincoln and Wilson as martyrs to the cause of American ideals of democracy.

Calling Lincoln the greatest character since Christ, the Rev. Howard D. French, pastor of the Church of the Pilgrims, Henry and Remsen sts., in a Lincoln memorial sermon yesterday declared that men of his type are not fully appreciated during life and stand alone.

"It is inevitable that such men shall be misunderstood, and misunderstood they are and ever will be as long as God sends them," said the pastor. He asserted that no life of Lincoln throws adequate light on the real man.

Comparing the boyhood days of the great Emancipator with those of modern youth, the Rev. Mr. French declared that the boy of today is often overpetted. "We must permit more struggle," he said. "Lincoln points to possibilities developed by struggle, purpose, pertinacity."

He scored the politicians of the day who advertise themselves as "men of the Lincoln type."

Lincoln and Wilson Service at St. Mark's.

At the morning services at St.

Mark's M. E. Church, Ocean ave and Beverly rd., yesterday, the Rev. Dr. Robert M. Moore, pastor, delivered an impressive address on Abraham Lincoln; at the evening services the memory of Wilson was honored. The speaker in the evening was N. P. Stedman, formerly in the Diplomatic Service under President Wilson, and now of The Eagle edito-

rial staff. Mr. Stedman, who was with the American delegation to the Peace Conference, and who had known Mr. Wilson for many years, gave an intimate view of the War President and his participation in the Peace Conference. He said Mr. Wilson had been much misrepresented in his judgments, and in the circumstances that led to those judgments.

ments. Both before and during the World War, and in his negotiations of the Versailles Treaty, Woodrow Wilson was truly a great man, a superior intellect, he said, whom his opponents in this country maligned as a means of self-preservation and self-defense.

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THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
13 North Wells Street

VICTOR F. LAWSON
Editor and Publisher

CHICAGO February 28, 1924.

To You, to whom this is addressed:

Was Woodrow Wilson a second Abraham Lincoln, as some of his admirers said at the time of his death three weeks ago, or was he a second Andrew Jackson, or just a puritan dreamer?

The lonely college professor who became the world's most influential citizen at the world's greatest crisis is still a mystery to most of his fellow-citizens. He was first known in the East as a teacher who taught brilliantly, and as a college president who fought bitterly with his trustees. The death of a stranger threw him into politics. The support of a fellow-democrat whom he had wished to "knock into a cocked hat" made him president. He told his countrymen they might be too proud to fight; yet he himself was never too proud to get into any sort of a fight in support of a vital principle—as he saw it. He was a "war president" who had to live down the reputation of a pacifist. He was often called in the same breath a tyrannical "boss" and a dreamer about freedom and democracy. His speeches were usually as clear as crystal but his actions were often misunderstood. What is your solution of these contradictions in character? Was he a historic leader or a tragic failure?

Twenty-five days after the death of this great American, The Chicago Daily News is beginning to publish in serial installments "The True Story of Woodrow Wilson," a complete story of his life and the important part he played in the World War. It is written by David Lawrence, a well-known newspaper man who studied under Woodrow Wilson at Princeton and was taken into the confidence of this lonely man as few others ever were. Mr. Lawrence explains many things which have never before been understood. His story is as absorbing as fiction, yet it is American History. You should read it.

We enclose a reprint of the installment which will appear in the Special Saturday Edition of The Daily News for March 1. Read what Wilson said about Grover Cleveland, about William Jennings Bryan, about Oscar Underwood. Then if you want to know more about this interesting man, fill in the enclosed subscription blank and mail it to us with a remittance of \$1.00. We will see that you get the installments of "The True Story of Woodrow Wilson" beginning with that of Saturday, March 8.

Better do this today.

Cordially yours,
THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS.

By


Circulation Manager.

P.S. In the realm of fiction, The Daily News will begin on Saturday, March 8, to publish a new *\$1,000-prize mystery story by Edgar Wallace, the British novelist who thrilled Daily News readers with "The Green Archer," "The Frog," and "The King By Night." It is called "The Man from Morocco"; and to prove to you that it will be well worth following, we are enclosing a reprint of the first two installments. You will also get eight pages of Photogravure with the Special Saturday Edition - altogether a very large value for your dollar.

* 159 other prizes - \$3000 in all.

LINCOLN AND WILSON

Today while the nation observes the birth of Abraham Lincoln the universal sorrow over the death of Woodrow Wilson hovers over the country like a mist.

Admirers of the late war President say, more than anything else, that he was like Lincoln.

What will the birthday of Woodrow Wilson mean to Americans 50 years hence?

The life of Wilson is not unlike that of Lincoln. Both Presidents were called to lead their peoples in national crises, and both came to an untimely end. A bullet that echoed from the Civil War caused Lincoln's death. Wilson was as much a casualty of the World War as the soldier who sacrificed his life on the battlefield.

Like Lincoln, Wilson was of humble origin and rose to the highest honor within the gift of his countrymen. Each had to face a grave period in the history of his country. And each led the nation to victory in war. At Gettysburg Lincoln said the Civil War was waged that "government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the face of the earth." Fifty-four years later Wilson, in Washington, declared America must fight, "make the world safe for democracy."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN THE PRESIDENT

1525

The flames of war were rising over the land. The pressure upon the president had been, for months, intense and insistent. Appeals poured in asking that the president take action. The newspapers, particularly along the eastern seaboard, clamored loudly. Government officials, delegations, and organizations of all kinds joined in the demand. Even the personal friends of the president echoed the insistent cry.

"Have we no self-respect?" wrote one editor.

"Are we to stand before the world afraid?" asked another.

"Have we a coward in the white house?" came from a famous orator.

Silence hung over the white house. To those who called upon him, friend and stranger alike, the president looked grave, shook his head, and merely said, "War is a frightful thing." Then, one day, he went a step further and said, "I can only watch and wait."

Derision now broke out in the newspapers. "Watch and wait, forsooth. How long? Until our name is a reproach to courage and a by word for cowardice?"

The business interests of the country insisted that the uncertainty of war was endangering the economic structure of the country. Even the churches began to counsel war "for God and the right."

In volume and violence grew the demand. Stronger words now found their way into the newspaper editorials. "Coward," cried an orator. "Deaf to reason and unwilling to listen," was the universal opinion.

Not a word came, however, from the man in the white house, whereupon he was told that "silence may at times be golden, but there are also times when it may spell cowardice."

Weeks grew into months, and yet the president sat calm and, to all outer appearances, undisturbed.

He was now adjudged "remote." Friends and officials ceased to counsel. He was "only willing to commune with himself and not with others." If advice was offered "it was met with rebuff." He was told that "he was untrained for the position and unable to grasp the situation." He "had proclaimed himself for an ideal and then had not the courage to fight for it."

So it went on. Patiently sat the president, and when friends told him of the widespread impatience he replied wearily, "Yes, I know, but they don't have to make the decision."

Then, one day, came the hour for action.

"At last," was the exultant cry.

The people got ready. Orators orated. Bands played. Registration places opened over night. The "regulars" marched through the streets to their armories. Women began to sew, and girls said goodbye to their sweethearts. Men too old to go into service wrote the president and told him how to conduct the war. All got busy—for human slaughter!

Then followed another cannonade on the doors of the white house. Matters were not moving fast enough—particularly to suit those who could not enlist. Now came "the right to know." What plans had the president? Why did he not reveal them to the people? Had he any? When cabinet members were asked about preparations, they nodded toward the white house. When members of congress were approached, they answered, "The president." Nobody knew but the president.

Again the president was silent.

"Is this a one-man war?" the editors now asked.

"Are the people to be told nothing?" inquired another.

"Will the president kindly oblige?" sarcastically suggested a third.

"Watching and waiting again," ironically said a fourth.

From no quarter came encouragement to the man holding his lonely vigil in the white house. Gradually it became apparent that all was not harmonious in the cabinet. There was little or no support of the president in congress.

Then came a victorious battle, and newspapers cried out in exultation, and the people shouted and cheered—until the tidings of the dead and wounded were learned. Then sober thought reigned.

Again a battle—and again a long list of boys killed in action.

"Is victory to be bought at such a fearful price?" the people asked.

To which the president replied, "There is only one kind of war."

Soon the question was asked for the first time, "How long will this last?" And it was not long before appeals came to the president to "stop the war."

"But it was only a short time back that you urged me to start the war," was the answer from the white house. "You can't start and stop a war as you can a watch."

The same voices which only a few weeks before had called the president a coward, afraid to fight, now began to tell him that he was "regardless of human life." He was "thirsting for blood to realize his ideal!"

"This fearful thing must stop," was the repeated word at the white house as the casualty lists grew by leaps and bounds. Folks began to recall the president's earlier words that war was "a frightful thing."

The president was again "willful, remote, insensible to argument, unwilling to listen to counsel." Or he was "filled with a self-importance. Although with no military training or background of statesmanship, he is attempting to run the war himself. No one is consulted. Advice falls on barren ground."

The president was "playing a lone hand." The American ambassador to the Court of St. James hinted that he "could receive no definite information from the white house or department of state on those questions which involved the nation to which he was accredited. Cabinet members said in confidence that the first information they had of orders which came within the scope of their departments they learned from the newspapers at their breakfast tables."

The president was running the war; no one else. He would listen to no one; he would counsel with no one. "The lonely man in the white house" became a universal characterization of the president.

So the war went on to the dissatisfaction of every one.

When in a momentous address the president defined the crisis in human civilization which he was trying as an honest and high-minded leader to meet and solve, showing the people most truly and clearly the right way and the wrong way, it was only to be met by the criticism that he was "a spinner of fine phrases."

Then came the first rumors of peace. But again silence hung heavily over the white house.

"Have not the people the right to know what is going on?" again became the cry.

"Whose war is this, pray?" came the ironical query.

"No morsel of hope or comfort to those whose boys are at the front comes from the solitary figure on Pennsylvania avenue," complained one editor.

"We shall know in time," counseled another editor. "In a year or two, perhaps. That is, if the president wills it. Remember, he is watching and waiting."

The closing days of the war thus dragged on, and little came from the white house. Meanwhile the president toiled and passed many a sleepless night, perceptibly aging, physically spent, steadily advancing, step by step, to that day when, as a bolt from the blue, he fell—just as truly a soldier in the war as any one of "his boys," as he used to call them, that fell on the battlefields.

As always happens, there followed an aftermath of sorrow, and it was not long before those who pushed him aside during his lifetime began to see that he knew better than they. Calumny ceased. Praise took its place. The man who was president was now standing, as we must all stand, before God for that judgment that faileth not.

"A true picture, very true," commented the critic when he had read what is written above. "But don't you think that if the president had not been so remote, or seemed so self-centered, so willing to commune only with himself, he would have avoided much of the anxiety which he thus brought upon himself, and which after all was the direct cause of his downfall?"

"Downfall?" I repeated. "Whose downfall?"

"Woodrow Wilson's," answered the critic. "But this sketch is not of Woodrow Wilson," I ventured.

"Of whom, pray, is it then?" was the astonished query.

"Of Abraham Lincoln."—By Edward W. Bok, in Scribner's.

Abraham Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson

Both had an Inherent Sympathy for the "Under Dog"

By Carl B. Swift

THE winter season brings to mind each year the greatest names in American history. The birthdays of Washington and Lincoln have long had a permanent abiding place in the traditions of our country. Many people have had a growing conviction, in recent years, that a third birthday, that of Woodrow Wilson, which falls on December 28, will in time complete the trinity of outstanding Americans. Between these latter two there are some similarities—and some differences—so striking that a study of them makes a fascinating subject.

Both lived in times of extremest crisis; both were made, in part, by the occasions they faced; both played their parts with such consummate courage and sincerity as to insure a place for each in the annals of the great. The one has been off the stage long enough for reasonably accurate judgments of his work to be made; the other will not have been truthfully gauged and estimated until another generation shall have come. An unprejudiced student, however, can see many strange similarities in the two men.

In the first place both fought for unity; Lincoln of a nation, Wilson of a world. An abiding America, with liberty and good will for all, was the dream of Lincoln. This could be achieved, he clearly saw, only through the solidarity and unity of the nation. A union between nations was scarcely thought of in his day. Mankind had not progressed beyond the viewpoint of the nationalist. In Wilson's day it was the same question expanded to world-wide proportions. While Lincoln saw that a nation divided against itself can not stand, Wilson saw that a divided world is impossible.

Both saw, with equal clearness, the poverty of hate. Only "with malice toward none and charity for all," could a nation, or a world, hold together. Lincoln's lack of vindictiveness; his astonishing spirit of good will toward the defeated armies of the South; his ability to pour oil and wine into the wounds of the lost cause, did more to cement the two sections than the heaviest guns fired in the war. Wilson's talk of peace without victory came from the same motive. To be sure the view of both were scouted and flouted by multitudes, but eventually the sons of these multitudes will know that both were right.

Both had an inherent sympathy for the "under dog." Lincoln personally suffered

with both the enslaved Negro and the defeated Southerner. The right of self-determination for races and small nations is a similar ideal. Neither of the emancipators believed that the will of the strong should be imposed upon the weak. The mercy and clemency of the victorious North over the defeated South have been matched in history only by the ideals which Wilson took to the peace congress; the ideals, alas, which he was unable to carry out in face of European traditions.

The pathetic loneliness of Lincoln was matched by the same spirit in Wilson. In spite of the external spirit of joviality and mischief in the former leader there was a more characteristic feeling of soberness—almost gloom. His biographers say Lincoln was wont to sit in a deep reverie utterly lost in almost morbid introspection. Similar in many respects were Mr. Wilson's solitary ways. He had but few intimates. It is said that there was no one in the world, outside his own family, familiar enough with him to call him Woodrow.

Both men failed in an astonishingly large number of undertakings. Lincoln's failure in his petty business ventures are well known to all. At one time the day was set for the forced sale of all his personal belongings. His business partner left him in the lurch, when they were forced into bankruptcy. Honest Abe had to pay the bills. If the Golden Rule were their motto the partner got the gold and left the rule to Lincoln—which he kept. Lincoln failed in more than one case to be elected to the office he desired to hold; he failed to get the appointment of land commissioner; he failed to marry the girl he loved. Until near the end of his life he probably thought of it as, in the main, a failure.

Wilson's public life was marked by one failure after another; that is, the world considered them failures. His presidency of Princeton University brought him into his first great conflict. Here his democratic ideals brought him unending opposition from the alumni and the trustees of that institution. His tenure of office as governor of New Jersey was not altogether smooth by any means. When he became president his troubles had just begun. His unyielding temperament and his single-track mind lost him friend after friend, until there was scarcely one to whom he could go for advice and counsel. Finally the utter failure to maintain his cherished

ideals at Versailles, together with the rejection by his countrymen of the League of Nations, proved to be the last straw.

Both men know what it was to be despised and rejected of men; to be crucified by those who could not understand.

While the two great leaders were alike in so many respects, in others they differed radically. Perhaps there is no difference so marked as their treatment of their associates. Both were maligned with equal severity. The venom used by Wilson's opponents was no more poisonous than that used by Lincoln's. But how differently they met criticism! It was Lincoln's sense of humor which saved him. Had he been in Wilson's place he would have met the jibes of the "Senator from Missouri" with a joke.

What a vast difference in formal education was theirs! All of Lincoln's schooling would not have amounted to more than one school year. Perhaps it was better so. Had he been able to sign his name, A. Lincoln, Ph.D., he probably would not have been able to cope with his problems as well as he did. Wilson had any number of degrees after his name. Lincoln never had the self-confidence that was Mr. Wilson's. In fact, overconfidence in his own judgment was probably Wilson's greatest defect. Lincoln realized his shortcomings and always stood ready to receive suggestions from others.

About both there was the stamp of the eternal. Something elemental, fundamental, abiding, characterized them. If one had the "hoar-frost of the cloister" on him the other had

—the tang and the odor of primal things,
The rectitude and patience of the rocks;
The gladness of the wind that shakes the corn;
The courage of the bird that dares the sea;
The justice of the rain that loves the leaves;
The pity of the snow that hides all scars;
The loving kindness of the wayside well;
The tolerance and equity of light
That gives as freely to the shrinking weed
As to the great oak flaring in the wind—
To the grave's low hill as to the Matterhorn
That shoulders out the sky.

Whatever their failures and successes we shall not soon see their like again.

School of the Bible,
Springfield, Missouri.

Charles Evangelist Feb 12 '925

Prof. Randall Writes Article On 'Lincoln's Task and Wilson's'

"Lincoln's Task and Wilson's" is the title of an article written by Prof. J. G. Randall of the department of history and published in the current number of the South Atlantic Quarterly.

"Lincoln," as Prof. Randall states, "had more geniality, more of the quality of give and take," and more humility than the sterner Wilson; yet Wilson's egotism and his readiness to sacrifice friends have been exaggerated, and it is pointed out that it was the opposite quality—that too great a favoritism toward friends—that went so far toward wrecking the Harding administration.

Prof. Randall shows that Lincoln had less prestige at the opening of his administration than Wilson; that he tended more toward the assumption of arbitrary executive power, and that his rule showed much less co-operation between President and Congress than did that of Wilson, whose record of team work with his legislature was "unique in American history."

The conception of Wilson as a mere idealist, an inept professor in the presidency, is disputed by Prof. Randall, who says: "The facts are that Wilson was by life-long study an authority on the practical workings of government; that he surprised everyone by crystallizing his reform policies into legislation against the opposition of 'practical' bosses in New Jersey, and that a score of major accomplishments in

the presidency, as well as his whole manner of handling the problems of that office, showed not the dreamer's idealism, but the practical statesman's craftsmanship.

"The husbanding of his time, the directness of his practice as to office seekers, the technique of his publicity, the signal success of his relations with Congress, his re-election against the powerful Republican opposition—these and many other factors illustrate the practical side of Wilson. The solid results of his rule, results which the more generous of his political opponents admit and by which the nation still profits, stand as the best refutation of the dreamer-idealist myth."

Illine
~~CHAMPAIGN ILL GAZETTE~~
TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1931.

Lincoln And Wilson: A Parallel

Wilson, Woodrow
(Pres. of U. S.)

An N. E. A. Editorial.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD had become wedded to the idea that he it was who would have to save the nation; that without him the country would crumble to pieces; that whatever he said or did was right, and what Abe Lincoln might say or think or do contrary to the Seward thought was all wrong.

"It is inevitable," Seward wrote to his wife when he accepted Lincoln's offer of the State portfolio. "I will try to save freedom and my country." Then again he writes: "I have assumed a sort of dictatorship for defense. My hope, rather my confidence, is unabated. It seems to me if I am absent only eight days, this Administration, the Congress and the District would fall into consternation and despair. I am the only hopeful, calm, conciliatory person here."

But in the years which followed Seward arrived at the conclusion that Lincoln and not Seward was President, and that Lincoln was the better man and better President.

Did Lincoln wait, watchfully and hopefully? Did he hope until the last that war might be averted?

Twelve days after he had called for the first 75,000 volunteers he wrote: "I have desired as sincerely as any man, and I sometimes think more than any other man, that our present difficulties might be settled without the shedding of blood. I will not say that all hope has yet gone."

Lincoln had his Medill McCormick's return after brief battle-field visits with bushels of speeches, testimony and articles proving how long and futile was the course Abe pursued. A whole flock of Congressmen and Senators hustled out of Washington to get first-hand information with their own eyes (as per trip of United States Congressmen to France last summer) of the battle of Bull Run. They—wise statesmen—had the hunch that there'd be only one battle in the war, and if they wanted to criticize Lincoln's war policy it was up to them to get a peek at the battle. They did. And they ran back several laps ahead of the retreating Northern soldiers.

Many of these Congressional sightseers immediately blamed Lincoln for the defeat. He was charged with every conceivable sin of omission and commission. This Congressman and that Senator wanted to know why Colonel So-and-So or Corporal Such-and-Such was not given supreme command of the army and sent into Virginia—"to bring a decisive victory in a hurry."

Pacifists damned Lincoln for going to war and some of them kept right on fighting him until his body was lowered in the grave. One of the most notorious of these "copperheads" was Vallandigham, of Ohio.

Profiteers gave him no end of worry. At times he seized foodstuffs hoarded by profiteers to break up specially manipulated "famines" and to lower prices.

Half of those who thought they knew all there was to be known about wanted McClellan made supreme commander of all Northern forces. The other half wanted Fremont.

Lincoln gave the East to McClellan and the West to Fremont and both failed.

Abe had before him the problem of the rights of neutrals on the high seas—just as Wilson had. But in Abe's case it was the United States violating the rights of Great Britain by stopping a British ship and removing Confederate commissioners, and not American ships being sunk by German submarines.

"We must stick to American principles concerning the rights of neutrals," Lincoln said.

That brought down upon Lincoln's head the wrath of Senators, Congressmen, public officials and private citizens all over the North. They insisted upon defying England and keeping the Confederate prisoners. Lincoln had his way and gave the commissioners back to England.

Lincoln had a Secretary of War—Cameron, a smooth and experienced Pennsylvania politician, forced into his Cabinet by an election promise made by a Lincoln booster without Lincoln's consent at the Chicago convention.

Cameron didn't co-operate any better with Lincoln in the great slavery problem than Garrison did with Wilson in the preparedness question. Cameron went so far as to order the arming of slaves. Lincoln canceled the order. Cameron went out of the Cabinet and Stanton became Secretary of War.

As the war moved slowly along, Lincoln was deluged with criticisms and admonitions to do things differently. Commission after commission went to the White House to protest, interfere and argue. Lincoln told them that he was doing his best; that the members of his Cabinet were striving to the same end. He insisted that time and patience as well as money, food and men, were needed to win. To one excitable collection of kickers he said:

"Gentlemen, suppose all the property you were worth was in gold and you had put it in the hands of Blondin, to carry across the Niagara river on a rope. Would you shake the cable or keep shouting at him: 'Blondin, stand up a little straighter—Blondin, stoop a little more—go a little faster—lean a little more to the north—lean a little more to the south?' No; you would hold your breath as well as your tongue, and keep your hands off until he was safely over. The Government is carrying an enormous weight. Untold treasures are in their hands; they are doing the very best they can. Don't badger them. Keep silence, and we will get you safe across."

Blondin, some of our fathers and mothers remember, achieved fame as a tight-rope walker, more than once treading a rope stretched over Niagara Falls. Lincoln stood between two factions—

those who wanted immediate emancipation of slaves and those who wanted to preserve the Union even though the Southern States were permitted to hold slaves. He was bitterly attacked by both sides. They accused him of being lukewarm, hypocritical, vacillating, wabbly, weak-kneed, dilatory. The "Greeley faction" fought Lincoln in pulpit, press and platform. In an editorial entitled "The Prayer of 20,000,000" Horace Greeley poured forth two columns of bitter and unjust accusations and complaints addressed to Lincoln, charging him with ignoring, disregarding and defying the laws already enacted against slavery.

Then Lincoln was waiting for a Northern victory before proclaiming the freedom of the slaves. That came at Antietam. Within a week his Emancipation Proclamation appeared in the newspapers. In the fall elections five states went against him—Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. But when Congress convened he submitted his proclamation and, as Ida M. Tarbell says in her "Life of Lincoln," he "pleaded with Congress as he had never pleaded before."

When Lincoln made Grant head of the armies in the West there came upon the capital an avalanche of protests. Men everywhere urged his removal. They didn't know what Lincoln could be thinking of to place such a man as Grant in command when there were no end of "great generals" lying around. They cried "favoritism, incompetency, ignorance, politics," as they reviled Lincoln and Grant. Lincoln had but one answer: "He fights."

Grant did fight. In one campaign he insisted upon fighting "it out on these lines if it takes all summer."

After a few years of fighting certain sections of the North began complaining about "furnishing too many men." These complaints came principally from Chicago and New York. The late Joseph Medill, editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, led a committee of prominent Chicago citizens to the White House to ask that Chicago's quota be reduced.

"Gentlemen," Lincoln is quoted in reply to the plea of the Medill committee, "after Boston, Chicago has been the chief instrument in bringing this war on the country. It is you who are largely responsible for making blood flow as it has. You called for war until we had it. Now you come here begging to be let off from the call for men which I have made to carry out the war you have demanded. You ought to be ashamed of yourselves. Go home and raise your 6,000 extra men. And you, Medill, you are acting like a coward."

"I couldn't say anything," Medill said afterward. "It was the first time I ever was whipped, and I didn't have an answer."

This year Mr. Lincoln seems alive again and to be identified with the struggle that is going on today. And that is true, not because the war between the states bore any resemblance to the present conflict with Prussianism, but because he believed the ultimate fate of democracy and free institutions to be bound up in the preservation of the indivisible republic created by the men of the Revolution. He knew the South was not setting up an oligarchy, and he knew that the issue of slavery, though it might be the occasion, was not the cause for which it was fighting. He himself was not fighting primarily for the abolition doctrine. He was an abolitionist, but he did not go to war for that. He would have been glad to find another way to accomplish that end—a wiser and less bloody way. The military necessities of the war finally made emancipation by force one of its objects, but even at Gettysburg, when he declared that government of the people, by the people and for the people should not perish from the earth, he had in mind, not the menace of a Southern despotism next door to a Northern republic, but the destruction of a Union the dissolution of which, in his judgment, involved a deadly peril to free government, North as well as South. Republicanism could not live half slave and half free; much less could it live in two rival democracies, whose fears and hates would demand the development of militarism in each, and whose examples might ultimately tend to split the country into half a dozen governments, and open the way for the downfall of popular rule in all. There was no Prussianism on either side in that conflict; it was a struggle for freedom on both sides, as each understood it. No one, we believe, would condemn more strongly than would Mr. Lincoln the false and offensive comparisons which have been made by some Northern newspapers during the last year or two between the South's attitude and purpose in the Civil War and Germany's in the present. He knew American history too well and he knew the Southern mind too well to commit himself seriously and deliberately to such a perversion of fact.

What he did represent then, and what he represents today, was the aim of making the world permanently safe for democracy, by making safe the American Union, which was the guardian and prophet of democracy. That gone, democracy would have received a deadly wound in the house of its friends. In his own view he was fighting the battle of the masses in the South no less than in the North. His quarrel was not with the slaveholding section as such, nor with the slaveholder as such. It was with the disorganizing and destructive doctrine of secession. Had the New England States undertaken to put it to the test in 1861, as they had threatened to do before, or had Western States raised the banner of revolt, Mr. Lincoln would have fought out the question with them as resolutely as he did with the South.

It is well to get our conceptions of Mr. Lincoln straight for this twelfth of February. He belongs to this period as much as to the Civil War period because his vision took in more than his own time, because he looked far into

the coming years. He could not foresee this particular crisis, of course, but his knowledge of the past "gave him mystical lore," and he knew that the progress of freedom everywhere would be imperiled by divisions among its chosen people here.

He was a common man with an uncommon mind and an uncommon heart, which spoke in the language of the ages, but his sympathies were too broad and his intellect too great to permit him to be simply the spokesman of a class. He had the grace of a natural charity that could suffer long and be kind, an unfailing fountain of humor that saved him from hysteria and kept him sane and human in the face of every crisis, and a common sense that was genius in itself. In person, in individual characteristics, even in intellectual processes, he was but little akin either to Washington or to Wilson. He was a distinct type, fashioned by nature in the biggest mould she has used for any of the family to which he belongs. And yet if he were President today he would stand precisely for the things for which Woodrow Wilson stands—for universal safety founded on principles of international justice, toleration and sanity. His idea of democracy was not to tear down and destroy, but to build up and conserve. A great man, because he had none of the littleness of section or of class—nonsectional Union. What he desired was to cut out the poisonous sore of sectionalism, not to spread and keep it alive. The South learned to recognize this truth after awhile, and a few years ago its leading men, in encomiums which were published in THE SUN, paid him honors as sincere and earnest as ever came from Northern sources, and far more convincing because they were the tributes of former intellectual and political foes.

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